

Escritores Apasionados del Combate: **English and American Novelists of the** **Spanish Civil War**

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Abstract: Though war-writings, including war novels, have come to occupy an important position in postmodern literature, and even as there are thousands of American and English fictional commemorations of the First and Second World Wars, the same litterateurs seem to have overlooked the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) of the inter-war years in which many of them participated as volunteers of *International Brigades*, fighting for the Spanish *Republicans* against Francisco Franco's Germany-and-Italy-aided *Nationalists*. Their silence might have stemmed from the fact that the *Republicans* ultimately lost the intra-Spain combat. Nevertheless, a few American and English writers have left fictional accounts of the war in their respective novels, and they include Wyndham Lewis, Elliot Paul, Virginia Woolf, George Orwell, Ernest Hemingway, and Laurie Lee, among others. Though limited in number, their publications have left stirring and poignant descriptions of both the heroism and brutalities of the combatants during the 1936-39 belligerence. This essay attempts to very briefly focus on this small sub-genre of Spanish Civil War novels in English language.

Keywords: Spanish Civil War, *Republicans*, *Nationalists*, Novels, *International Brigades*, belligerence, brutalities, Franco.

It is an interesting phenomenon that while modern European history has received plenty of authoritative contributions on the causes and effects of the two World Wars, literary-historical commemorations of the Spanish Civil War, which continued principally in Continental Spain and Spanish Morocco between July 1936 and end-March 1939 with the fascist *Nationalists* and the *Republicans* being the chief belligerents, are comparatively much limited. Moreover, though numerous non-Spaniard European and American socialists and communists – with many efficient litterateurs among them – formed military units of *International Brigades* and travelled to Spain to defend the *Second Spanish Republic* ruled successively by Manuel Azaña Díaz (1880-1940) and Juan Negrín y López (1892-1956), English fiction focussing on different incidents of the Civil War was scarcely published in the 1930s and 1940s. There have been a few collections of English poetry on the 1936-39 belligerence though, but not novels – a fact which could have emanated from the fact that the English and American literatures were flabbergasted at the ultimate defeat of the *Republicans* whom they wholeheartedly supported, and at the beginning of General Francisco Franco's dictatorship that was to continue until 1975. These stunned silences notwithstanding, wartime

confrontations and brutalities perpetrated by both the *Republicans* and *Nationalists* killed approximately half a million people and displaced another half a million: *The Times* of 21 August 1936 even went to state that 'the appalling cruelty displayed in the Civil War had betrayed the gulf between the Spanish mentality and that of most of the rest of Europe' (de Meneses xiv). More importantly, the 1936-39 intra-Spain belligerence was the prelude to the Second World War, which was to commence within half a year from the conclusion to the Civil War. The American and English historians, litterateurs, and intellectuals could not but shift their immediate attention to focussing on such grievous issues as the *Anschluss* (March 1938), the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia (September 1938), the signing of the *Molotov-Ribbentrop Non-aggression Pact* (August 1939), and the German invasion of Poland (September 1939).

Recalling the dearth of commemorations of the Spanish Civil War in English and American literatures, even in poetry, Adam Piette reasons, "The Spanish Civil War and Nazi-Soviet Pact had scuttled many of the revolutionary expectations associated with wartime [...]" (*The Cambridge...Second World War* 16). However, in Piette's statement, two terms are as relative as they are complicated: 'revolutionary' and 'expectations'. First, adopting an impartial view of the issues of belligerence, it is debatable whether the approximately-thirty-two-thousand-volunteer-strong *International Brigades* comprising of principally the Italian, German, Polish, French and expatriate Russian communists and anti-fascists, who were aided by Americans and English reactionaries and divided into battalions like the *Edgar André Battalion*, the *Commune de Paris Battalion*, and the *Dabrowski Battalion* (which together formed the *XI International Brigade*), the *Thälmann Battalion*, the *Garibaldi Battalion*, and the *André Marty Battalion* (which constituted the *XII International Brigade*), and the *British Battalion*, the *Dimitrov Battalion*, *6 Février Battalion*, the *Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion*, and the *Abraham Lincoln Brigade* (of the *XV International Brigade*) were 'revolutionaries' in the real sense of the term. As Helen Graham points out, tumultuous political events between 1930 and 1936 (with which the *International Brigade*-members had no direct connection) initiated the Spanish Civil War (10-14). The *Second Spanish Republic*, formed in April 1931 and under the successive premierships of Niceto Alcalá-Zamora y Torres (1877-1949) and Manuel Díaz, tried to forcibly secularise the principally-Catholic country, burning several Madrid churches in May 1931. The average Spaniards regarded Díaz to be a barbaric and corrupt politician, and his erroneous domestic policies ensured that the Rightists won the November 1933-Spanish elections, following an unsuccessful uprising by General José Sanjurjo y Sacanell (1872-1936) in August 1932. Previously, when the anticlerical Alejandro Lerroux y García (c. 1864-1949) of the *Radical Republican Party* (R.R.P.) headed the government in September-October 1933, he had been following an austere domestic policy, which alienated him from the common

Spaniards and especially the monarchists who began supporting the fascist congregation *Falange Española*.

Bolloten recounts that after the *Popular Front* government was formed in February 1936, Prime Minister Santiago Casares y Quiroga (1884-1950) failed to convince military leaders of his competence to guide Spain out of depression. Such an atmosphere of distrust galvanised the generals Gonzalo Queipo de Llano y Sierra (1875-1951), Manuel Goded Llopis (1882-1936), Emilio Mola y Vidal (1887-1937), Juan Yagüe y Blanco (1891-1952) and Francisco Franco y Bahamonde (1892-1975) to be united in beginning a military coup, supported by 'policemen, monarchists, *Falangists*, Catholic clergymen, large landowners and tenant farmers', against the beleaguered and lax but democratically-elected government (Bolloten 8-10). Germany, Italy, and Portugal strategically aided these militaristic rebels who proclaimed themselves 'Nationalists'. Pitted against the *Nationalists*, the *Republicans* were not 'revolutionaries' at all but supported the established government. The 'expectations' of the *Republicans* included domination and annihilation of the Catholically-inclined Spaniards, while those of the *International Brigades* were opposition of the nationalistic politicians and the 'imperialistic' Italo-Portuguese-German 'designs'. If, according to David Garrioch in *The Spanish Civil War: A Cultural and Historical Reader*, the Civil War stemmed simply from the antagonism between the Catholics and the Socialists, and between the capitalists and proletarians (5,8), most of the *International Brigade* members, whom Gertrude Stein (1874-1946) disfavoured and Ezra Pound (1885-1972) derided as 'a gang of sap-headed dilettantes' seeking 'emotional luxury' in Spain (*qtd. in* Tierney 59), appear to have over-romanticised their causes and involvements. In their introduction to *The Spanish Civil War in Literature*, Perez and Aycock observe, "No impartial or non-partisan accounts were penned by participants on either side [during the Spanish Civil War]" (2). However, reviewing the number of literary and journalistic commemorations of the intra-Spain belligerence seventy-three years after its conclusion, one can easily observe how writings by the *Republicans* and by litterateurs and historians associated with or sympathetic to the 'causes' of the *International Brigades* predominate the postmodern literary milieu. Perez and Aycock write,

"[T]he Spanish Civil War continued to be a viable and frequent literary theme, not only in Spain but also in many other lands. Political circumstances within Spain, combined with the sympathy of intellectuals in much of Europe and the Americas for the Republican cause and the presence of Loyalist exiles in many of the same countries, partially explain the international flood of writings on the Spanish Civil War. There are as yet no serenely dispassionate literary interpretations of this stirring conflict" (*ibid.* 2).

While trying to substantiate for the overwhelming English and American intellectual participation in the 1936-39 war, Sanders writes that the English writers like Christopher Isherwood (1904-86), Wystan Hugh Auden (1907-73), Louis MacNeice (1907-63), and Stephen Spender (1909-95) involved themselves with the *Republicans* because of their

innate 'sense of guilt' at having had missed the chance to participate in the 1914-18 First World War and because they wanted to test how their socialistic outlook, "generally with a strongly Marxist hue", would bring social, sexual, and literary emancipation for them (558). Most of these young enthusiasts were poets, and wartime poetry is proliferative when compared to belligerence prose because poems require shorter space, time, materials, and emotional support for composition and even lesser time for publication in various newspapers and magazines. While poems can be scribbled even in trenches or during periods of rests after charges, novels and prose require much preparation and involve continuities. However, English and American litterateurs who spontaneously reacted at the onset of the Spanish Civil War, or connected themselves with it, were soon to realise the horrors of confrontation and the self-destructive nature of militarism. Such campaigns, sieges and battles of the Spanish Civil War as the *Sieges of the Alcázar* (21 July-27 September 1936) and *Madrid* (November 1936-March 1939), the *Battles of Badajoz* (14 August 1936), *Majorca* (16 August-12 September 1936), *Jarama* (6-27 February 1937), *Guadalajara* (8-23 March 1937) and *Guadarrama* (31 March 1937), the *Aceituna Campaign* (13-31 December 1936), the 26 April 1937-aerial attack on the northern Spanish town of Guernica by aeroplanes of the German *Luftwaffe* 'Condor Legion' and Italian *Aviazione Legionaria*, the *Zaragoza* (24 August-7 September 1937), *Asturias* (1 September-21 October 1937), *Aragon* (7 March-19 April 1938), *Levante* (25 March-24 July 1938) and *Catalonia* (23 December 1938-10 February 1939) *Offensives* and especially the bloody *Battle of the Ebro* (25 July-16 November 1938) annihilated and mutilated thousands of Spaniards and international citizens. Moreover, though successful Allied censorship in years following the Second World War ensured that publications by supporters of General Franco were unobtrusively destroyed, powerful voices of such supporters of *Nationalists* as Arthur Machen (1863-1947), François Mauriac (1885-1970), Pierre Drieu La Rochelle (1893-1945), Edmund Blunden (1896-1974), Roy Campbell (1901-57), Evelyn Waugh (1903-66), and Robert Brasillach (1909-45), and writings by the self-proclaimed 'neutrals' like Herbert George Wells (1866-1946), Charles Morgan (1894-1958) startled the *Republican* enthusiasts into reconsidering their positions, perplexed further by the dismissive attitudes adopted towards them by Ezra Pound, Thomas Stearns Eliot (1888-1965), Seán Ó Faoláin (1900-91), and Graham Greene (1904-91). Against hundreds of impassioned writers of belligerence – 'escritores apasionados del combate' publishing in favour of the anti-Francoists, there were also numerous individuals and intellectuals who supported the military leaders of *Nationalist* Spain, thus complicating the socio-literary milieu. While Richard Golsan notes in his essay in *The Spanish Civil War in Literature* how publications by Brasillach and Drieu emphasise the vociferous presence of numerous foreign volunteers, especially German and Italian, on Franco's side as well (45), Frederick Hale's "Fighting over the Fight in Spain" explores efforts of different European intellectuals,

including Joseph Keating and Michael de la Bédoyère, to rally support in favour of the *Nationalists*. However, in the post-Second World War culture, as mentioned before, the anti-*Nationalist* voices predominate, leading Valentine Cunningham to comment, “Culture was plainly on the Republican side” (*The Cambridge... WarWriting* 186). Paul Nissler writes, “Part of the motivation of German authors entering the space(s) of the Civil War as writers was not only to 'report' or relay information, but to employ varying strategies of presentation – deemed necessary and useful in support of the Leftist space of the Civil War” (314), and taking a wholesome view of the general European responses, Cunningham informs,

The host of writers who toured republican Spain in July 1937 as the Second Congress of the International Association of Writers, organised by the great Chilean poet Pablo Neruda, indicate how much [the culture was on the Republican side]. This crowd of intellectual supporters included Spender, Rickwood, Claud Cockburn, Valentine Ackland, and Sylvia Townsend Warner from Britain; Malraux, Andre Chamson, Julien Benda, and René Belch from France; the exiled Germans Ludwig Renn and Erich Weinert; Octavio Paz and his wife Elena Garro from Mexico; the Russians Ilya Ehrenburg, Alexei Tolstoy, and Mikhail Koltsov; and of course the distinguished Spanish poets Antonio Machado, Miguel Hernandez, and Samuel Altolaguirre. [...] [T]he pro-Republicans were some of the very best, as well as some of the most promising, of the world's writers and artists [...] (*The Cambridge... WarWriting* 186-87).

While memorable poetic commemorations of the brutalities of and heroism shown in the Spanish Civil War written in English include W.H. Auden's “Spain” (1937), Stephen Spender's “Two Armies”, “Ultima Ratio Regum”, and “Bombed Happiness” (1939), Herbert Read's “Bombing Casualties in Spain” (1939), Frank Laurence Lucas's “Proud Motherhood (Madrid, A.D. 1937)” (1939), Bernard Gutteridge's “Spanish Earth” (1939), and Randall Jarrell's “A Poem for Someone killed in Spain” (1942), Spanish Civil War novels and prose in English are relatively scarcer. And, importantly, all of these, with the exception of Wyndham Lewis's *The Revenge for Love* (1937), glorify the Republican interests and preach in favour of interests of the members of *International Brigades*. Among the early English-language novels and semi-fictional accounts focussing on the Civil War are Elliot Paul's *Life and Death of a Spanish Town* (1937), Virginia Woolf's *Three Guineas* (1938), George Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia* (1938), Ernest Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940), and Laurie Lee's *As I walked out One Midsummer Morning* (1969). John Dos Passos and Hemingway had also written *The Spanish Earth* (1937), which was, in the same year, made into a propaganda film. Carmen Laforet's *Nada* (1945) and Javier Cercas's *Soldiers of Salamis* (2001) gained more critical attention after their English translations respectively by Edith Grossman and Anne McLean than when it was released in the original Spanish. *Random House* and *Routledge* together published in 1938 the English translation of Andre Malraux's *Man's Hope*

(1937), which, once again, was more popular than the original French novel *L'Espoir*. In late-20th and early-21st centuries, a few more English-language fiction on the 1936-39 belligerence have been internationally published, among them being Elizabeth Halliday's *History 101* (2002), Christopher John Sansom's spy-novel *Winter in Madrid* (2006), John Steinbacher's *Wayfarers of Fate* (2006), Dave Boling's *Guernica* (2008), Victoria Hislop's *The Return* (2008), John Leary's *The First Casualty* (2009), and Tony Sullivan's postmodern e-book *Two Women Two Wars* (2012). Besides, Arthur Koestler's *Darkness at Noon* (1940) and Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-four* (1949) are often linked to the Spanish Civil War because these two novels are critical of the Communists, and the leftists constituted one of the principal warring parties on side of the *Republicans*.

Interestingly, one of the earlier English-language novels on the Spanish Civil War, Percy Wyndham Lewis's *The Revenge for Love*, is a political satire that, while demonstrating a wariness for the communists, attacks the fraudulence of English life during the 1930s and lambastes its penchant for leftist politics. Just as readers of Orwell's *Coming up for Air* (1939) are exposed to the brutalities of anti-fascist politics through the narrative of the forty-five-year-old insurance agent George Bowling, Lewis (1882-1957), who fought in the First World War as a second lieutenant of the *Royal Artillery*, seems to have had perceived the fickle-mindedness and hypocrisy of individuals who would later form the *International Brigades* and painted them in his novel as 'deluded travellers'. Sanders comments, "*The Revenge for Love* [...] is [...] an unsteady but scathing attack on the political (and particularly Marxist) deceptions of the 1930s" (527). Brett Neilson, in addition, writes, "Though admirers of this novel have sought to read it against Lewis's fascism, arguing that the work transcends its political discourses or dismantles them from within, I believe that *The Revenge for Love* animates and parodies these critical positions: indeed, a careful reading of this text provides a means for reassessing fascism's centrality to the aesthetic dimension of modernism" (24). The American journalist Elliot Harold Paul (1891-1958) was a symbolic 'member' of the intellectual *Lost Generation* – a group to which Ernest Hemingway (1899-1961) also belonged – and was a correspondent of *The Paris Herald* when he tried to write novels and suffered from a nervous breakdown, which compelled him to migrate to and recuperate in the eastern Spanish coastal village of Santa Eulària des Riu. Resentful of the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, Paul published *Life and Death of a Spanish Town* – the fictional 'town' being Santa Eulalia itself – in 1937, which so much enraged the Francoists that he was forced to escape from Spain back to France. Divided into two parts and a total of 25 chapters, *Life and Death of a Spanish Town* contains references to different working-class people of 'Santa Eulalia' like fishermen, hotelkeepers, storekeepers, artisans, and farmers in its opening section which also reveals the author's despondency as he writes in the 'Foreword':

In Franco's Spain there are no elections, no secular schools; the relatives of those who supported their legitimate government in peril are not eligible for employment. The country has been stripped of everything useful to the despoilers, Hitler and Mussolini. Even destitute refugees from Central Europe weep when they pass through Spain and see the suffering there (Paul I).

Three Guineas by Virginia Woolf (1882-1941), which is often reread as a work of nonfiction, was initially conceived as a 'novel-essay' clarifying certain views expressed in her feministic *A Room of One's Own* (1929). In the June 1938-publication, written in background of the Spanish Civil War and the the-then European policies, Woolf raises three important questions as a female intellectual: how should wars be prevented, why is women-education not generously contributed by the English government, and why are women being denied the privilege to engage in professional works. The epistolary writing attempts to tie the issues of feminism and belligerence together, and it grew out of Woolf's and her husband Leonard Woolf's experiences during their tours of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. Gill Plain writes, "The events of the 1930s, in particular Hitler's rise to power in Germany and the Spanish Civil War, prompted writers such as Woolf, Storm Jameson, and Naomi Mitchison to produce novels and essays urging political and spiritual resistance to fascism. In *Three Guineas* [...] Woolf is faced with the question of why women's enfranchisement has not put an end to war. She responds to this impossible question with an extended parody of scientific inquiry that links fascism and patriarchy in its argument that the seeds of dictatorship are rooted in domestic tyranny" (*The Cambridge...Second World War* 168-69). George Orwell, who reflected on the intra-Spain belligerence in the 1942 seven thousand-and-eight-hundred-word-article "Looking Back on the Spanish War", recorded his experiences and observations of the 1936-39 civil war in *Homage to Catalonia*, published by Secker and Warburg in London in April 1938. Though his penchant for social and international services took Orwell, that is, Eric Arthur Blair, to Spain in December 1936, he was initially uncommitted to join the communists on the side of the *Republicans* to fight against the *Nationalists*. He joined, nevertheless, the *Workers' Party of Marxist Unification* (P.O.U.M.) served at Aragon, Alcubierre, and then again at Aragon, where he was shot in throat by a sniper, but managed to recover and escape back to England in June 1937. Divided into twelve chapters and including two appendixes, *Homage to Catalonia* catches the author in Barcelona and ends with his escape back into France after unsuccessfully trying to free the *International Brigade*-captain Georges Kopp (1902-51).

Hemingway, an American enthusiast regarding the Spanish Civil War, was wounded, unlike Orwell, much before the Spanish Civil War – in the Great War in July 1918 at Fossalta di Piave, Italy. Though he wrote *To Have and Have Not* (1937) while in Spain, Hemingway's Spanish Civil War-novel *For Whom the Bell Tolls* was published by *Charles Scribner's Sons*, New York, in October 1940. On contract to report for the *North American Newspaper Alliance*, Hemingway arrived in Spain in March 1937, and was

asked by Joris Ivens (1898-1989), a Dutch documentary-filmmaker, to write the script for *The Spanish Earth*, a 1937 propaganda film directed against the *Nationalists*. John Dos Passos (1896-1970) had left the script-writing project when his academician friend José Robles Pazos (1897-1937) was arbitrarily executed by the communists. Disillusioned with the leftists, Dos Passos left Spain while Hemingway opined that he had left the country because of his cowardice. Hemingway did not leave until the *Battle of the Ebro* broke out. Rather, he wrote his only play, *Fifth Column*, in Madrid, when the city was being bombarded by the *Nationalists*. In one of his more efficient novels, *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, Hemingway narrates the adventures of Robert Jordan, a young American in the *International Brigades* and attached to a *Republican* guerrilla unit during the civil war. As a dynamiter, he is assigned to blow up a bridge during an attack on the city of Segovia but in the end he is left in a seriously-wounded-state by his comrades and beloved Maria, at his own request, to face the approaching *Nationalists* all alone. Taking its title from John Donne's *Meditation XVII* (1624), *For Whom the Bell Tolls* is set in *Sierra de Guadarrama* mountains in central Spain in the background of the March 1937 *Battle of Guadarrama*. The novel was nominated for the *Pulitzer Prize* and refers to a number of people who actually fought in the civil belligerence, including a number of actual figures that played a role in the Spanish Civil War are also referenced in the book, including Andreu Nin, Indalecio Prieto, Generals José Miaja and Vicente Rojo, Dolores Ibárruri, Robert Hale and Marion Merriman, and André Marty. Robert Merriman (1908-38), who commanded the *Abraham Lincoln Battalion* of the *International Brigades* before being killed in action at Corbera d' Ebre during the *Battle of Teruel*, might have served as Hemingway's model for Robert Jordan. Lawrence Edward Alan Lee (1914-97), better known as 'Laurie Lee', published his autobiographical trilogy *Cider with Rosie* (1959), *As I Walked Out One Midsummer Morning* (1969), and *A Moment of War* (1991), the last two being his commemorations of his visit to Spain during the Civil War during which he participated – especially in 1937 – as an *International Brigades* volunteer. *As I Walked Out One Midsummer Morning*, while lambasting the policies of Franco, also does not offer an endearing picture of the *Republicans*. *Nada* (1944) by Carmen Laforet (1921-2004) is an existentialist story of the development of Andrea, an eighteen-year-old Spanish female orphan from Barcelona whose adopted home at Calle de Aribau is irreversibly transformed by the Civil War. Winner of the *Editorial Destino's Nadal Prize*, 1945, *Nada* consists of a number of vividly drawn and pitiable characters, and according to Fernanda Eberstadt's 13 April 2007 review in *The New York Times* (<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/13/arts/13iht-idside14.1.5269021.html>),

Nada depicts on the one hand the sordid collapse of a family whose fratricidal hatreds mirror those of the Civil War, and on the other hand the struggle of its youngest member for simple freedom. What gives the novel its unlikely freshness is the contrast between the melodramas to which Andrea is witness and the humorous restraint of her narration.

Soldiers of Salamis (2001) by Javier Cercas (b. 1962), on the other hand, focuses, with imagination, into the life of the Spanish *Nationalist* writer Rafael Sánchez Mazas (1894–1966), especially how Mazas is saved from execution by the *Republican* combatant Miralles, who appears in the novel as a self-absorbed old man. Published between 2002 and 2012, Halliday's *History 101*, Sansom's *Winter in Madrid*, Steinbacher's *Wayfarers of Fate*, Boling's *Guernica*, Hislop's *The Return*, Leary's *The First Casualty*, and Sullivan's *Two Women Two Wars* are more fictionalised romances based on the Spanish Civil War than publications produced from first-hand-experiences. In *History 101*, Halliday (b. 1971) explores the construction of history in turbulent times, and three characters – a physician, Fitz, and Anji – travel to Spain to understand what terrible experiences had influenced Pablo Picasso (1881–1973) to paint his 1937 masterpiece *Guernica*. Set in Madrid, *Winter in Madrid* by Christopher John Sansom (b. 1952) has as its hero the wounded war-veteran Harry Brett who is employed by the *British Secret Service* to spy in Francoist Spain in October 1940. During his espionage, Brett loses his proletarian beloved Sofia Roque Casas to the hostile *Civil Guards*. In Steinbacher's *Wayfarers of Fate*, the two brothers Juan and Pedro Avila are pitted against each other – being members of opposing camps – during the Spanish Civil War. Juan Avila joins the communists but is betrayed by his beloved Hilda Krantz, who is a deadly leftist spy, and this experience makes him cynical. Moreover, Pedro Avila's death in action leads his brother to perceive the effects of his choice. The horrors of the fascist bombing of the Basque town are poignantly captured in Boling's *Guernica* through references to the lives of two families related by marriage – the Ansoteguis and the Navarros. Having had been inspired by stories of his in-laws' Basque family who immigrated to the United States of America, Boling demonstrates a deep sympathy for the hapless residents of *Guernica*. In the former Oxonian Hislop's 2008 *The Return*, Sonia Cameron and her friend Maggie go to Alhambra in Granada for a dance-lesson, and in one of the Spanish cafés, an elderly waiter describes to Cameron how the Ramírezs, who formerly inhabited the café, witnessed severe atrocities during the civil war. In John Leary's *First Casualties*, journalist Colin McMahon finds himself reporting in Spain where the 1936–39 belligerence has broken out and he finds his Spain-settled-sister Maureen in danger with his two brothers engaged in fighting for the *Nationalists* and the *Republicans*. In Tricia Goyer's *A Shadow of Treason* (2007), Sophie Grace must win the trust of her former fiancé Michael, a fascist-collaborator, in order to garner information regarding the place of concealment of Aztec gold. Finally, in *Two Women Two Wars*, Eliot Palgrave is obliged to go to Spain when David Tarrant, the step-son of Catherine Challoner, Palgrave's beloved, runs away to the country in 1937 during the civilian combat.

While Gareth Thomas refuses to identify novels of the Spanish Civil War as 'historical novels' because "their authors are, in the majority of cases, protagonists or eye witnesses of the war" (5), the same does not apply for

the postmodern fictional commemorations of the civil strife. From brilliant and passionate testimonies to the respective authors' sentiments, the 21st-century Spanish Civil War novels seem to have descended to literary exercises aimed at marketing. Nevertheless, they continue to remind readers of the intra-Spain war that divided the Spaniards as never before and signalled the prelude to the Second World War. If, according to George Santayana's *Reason in Common Sense* (1905), those who forget history are condemned to repeat it, such novels would suitably act in not allowing people to forget the dangers of militarism, ultranationalism and belligerence.

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